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Getting on the same page

# "You can lead a man to Congress, but you can't make him think."

Milton Berle



## •SECURE Act 2.0

- Political/Legislative Landscape
- 2022 Mid-Term election snapshot





- Changes for individual savers
  - **RMD age increased to age 75** (73 thru 2029, 74 thru 2032, 75 after 2032)
  - ROTH provisions for SIMPLE and SEP IRAs
  - Qualified Charitable Deduction
    - One time, \$50,000 maximum payment to a split-interest entity
    - Recipients include charitable gift annuities, CRUTs or CRTs
    - Indexes the \$100,000 limit
  - Bolster make-up provisions- Ages 62, 63, 64
    - \$5,000 for SIMPLE plans, all other plans-\$10,000

Allow variable annuities to invest in ETFs



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### **Retirement plan changes**

- Expands auto-enrollment AND auto-escalation to all new plans
- Eligible part-time definition changed to 500hrs/year for 2 years vs. 3
- Increases tax credit for start up plans
- Ease the rules for using QLACs (longevity insurance)
- New lost and found entity to keep track of previous employer plans
- 403(b) plans can join open Multi-Employer Plans (MEPs)
- Employers can make matching contribution based on student loan payments

### **Revenue offsets to pay for these changes?**

- Catch up provisions in plans must be made as ROTH contributions
- Employers can match ROTH contributions in ROTH account

e)

## •SECURE Act 2.0

- Political/Legislative Landscape
- 2022 Mid-Term election snapshot





### **Executive** Action

## Legislation (Authorization) VS. Executive Action (Implementation)

## **Under President Biden's Authority...**

- Rejoin Paris Climate Accord, WHO, JCPOA (Iran nuclear deal)
- Extend eviction ban
- Extend student loan payment deferral
- Dreamer protections
- **Re-open ACA enrollment**
- Repeal ban on travel from Muslim countries  $\bullet$
- Reinstate CAFÉ standards
- Remove work requirements for Medicaid
- Reverse roll-back of environmental rules
- New order that no member of executive branch may influence a DOJ investigation

## Trade

- Reengage traditional allies (Canada, Japan, EU, South Korea), remove tariffs
- Renegotiate our entry into Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)
- Hold Russia accountable for election interference, hacks, and targeting US soldiers
- Reassess our positioning with China

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## **Under President Biden's Authority...**

## **Financial**

- **Expand Volker rule**
- Increase stress test requirements
- Expand overtime eligibility
- **DOL-** Trump rule in effect/Biden issued instructions to review
  - Marty Walsh, Labor Secretary nominee is pro-labor & leans liberal, a friendly ear
  - Might review definition of "Fiduciary" and types of "Advice" within the rule
  - Lengthy process- no quick action expected
- **Reg Bl** 
  - Rep Waters supports advisors being held to a fiduciary standard and Reg BI is not strong enough
  - Secretary Gensler is focused on investor protections



### Big Tech



First time I've ever retweeted @ewarren But she's right —Big Tech has way too much power to silence Free Speech. They shouldn't be censoring Warren, or anybody else. A serious threat to our democracy.

### Elizabeth Warren 😒 @ewarren

Curious why I think FB has too much power? Let's start with their ability to shut down a debate over whether FB has too much power. Thanks for restoring my posts. But I want a social media marketplace that isn't dominated by a single censor. #BreakUpBigTech twitter.com/viaCristiano/s...

○ 12K 1:40 PM - Mar 12, 2019

Q 4,283 people are talking about this





## Bipartisan, Bicameral, Fed Agency and State Investigating large tech

- Data privacy
- Anti-competitive behavior/Anti-Trust- 50 state consortium investigating options
- Failure to address spread of misinformation
- Regulation of content (Section 230)
- Rebecca Kelly Slaughter, FTC Chair- additional scrutiny on the sector
- 2021 House Bill
  - Eliminate conflict of interest and prioritization of co-owned services
  - Prohibit large tech from purchasing rising competitors
  - Break down walls making it easier to use non-proprietary services

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### **Big Tech**

## Section 230

## - Protects platforms from liability from...

- Content users post
- Platform's decision to take down or leave content available

## - Viewed as foundational law of the web as digital free expression

## - Repeal would hold platforms liable for content

- Some Dems believe platforms allowed to spread hate speech & falsehoods with impunit
- Some GOPs believe platforms are ideologically biased against conservative speech

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h & falsehoods with impunitionst conservative speech

### Trade/Foreign Relations Under Biden

- Consensus building
- Reengagement vs. confrontation
- Favoring regional trade deals vs. bi-lateral
- Not as apt to use tariffs
- Reinstate Trade deals with allies (EU, TPP etc)





### Trade/Foreign Relations Under Biden

- Iran
  - Talks to restart JCPOA starts and stops
  - Slow process as Iran pushing beyond the limits in the agreement

## North Korea

No Substantive discussion anytime soon

## Russia

- Election interference
- Bounties on US soldiers in Afghanistan
- Cyberattack on US Agencies and ransomware
- Poisoning of opposition leader Alexei Navalny
- Invasion of Ukraine

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## **Assessing Putin**

- Autocracies always lead to more and more isolationism & populous control
- Fear: loss of power and popular "support" (loss of control)
  - Ukrainians and Russians are friendly and freely interact
  - Thriving, free democracy informing Russians about what they don't have
  - He is afraid of winning the battle, but losing the war

## **Ukrainian Economy**

- Minerals-lithium, copper, nickel, uranium, titanium and more Agriculture- 50% of EU's corn, 25% of cereal and vegetable oil
- Energy-Europe's largest nuclear power plant

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### Russia/Ukraine

### 2019- China became Ukraine's largest trading relationship growing 80% YOY Imports **European Union** Belarus ---- US **Russian Federation** Turkey --- Switz. China

## **Ukraine Economy**

### Exports **European Union** ---- Turkey Egypt ndia **Russian Federation**



Source: World Bank World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS).

Source: World Bank World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS).



www.Bruegel.org, Ukraine: trade reorientation from Russia to the EU, July 13, 2020 Reuters, Factbox: China's business and economic interests in Ukraine, Feb 23, 2022

## **Sanctions**/Actions

- Banks blocked from transactions within the world's financial systems
- Russian banks cannot transact in US Dollars
- Capital is cut off- No loans, issuance of sovereign debt, risks capital flight
- Oligarch's offshore assets frozen and travel abroad restricted
- Technology transfer restrictions
- Cut off from SWIFT- except oil & gas and some banks
- Banning US/EU residents from trading with Russian Central Bank
  - Blocking access to Putin's \$600B rainy day fund
- Cancellation of sporting events and banning Russian athletes
- Expulsion of 12 Russian "diplomats" for spying
- EU, Canada and US airspace restrictions of Russian flights
- US blocks Russian oil imports, EU moving away from Russian oil

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### Russia/Ukraine

## Results

- The Russian economy is increasingly challenged
- Corporate citizens questioning their ongoing interests in Russia
  - Further adding drag to the Russian economy
- Germany agrees to increase defense spending
- Germany shipping lethal weapons to Ukraine
- Switzerland moving off their neutral political positions
- Sweden & Finland's NATO applications are expected in June
- Watch Chinese actions & how they balance ideology and economy



### Russia/Ukraine

## **Expectations for US consumers**

- Higher energy prices (oil and natural gas)
- Higher transportation costs (increased supply chain issues, travel costs)
- Higher commodity prices-Supply chain issues (AI, Ni, Pt, Pd, Ti, Au)
- Higher food prices (wheat, corn)
- Cyberattacks (Critical infrastructure- energy, financial, etc.)

## Effects

- Higher inflation
- Market uncertainty
- Fed actions conundrum
  - Increase rates to tame inflation
  - Keep rates low to spur slowing recovery
- Although unlikely, some suggest this is the new Cold War
- More likely, rewriting the world's operating manual

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/el costs) Fi, Au)

Average tariff rate, percent

### Trade- US/China Phase 1- Détente

## • US agrees

- Back off existing tariffs
- Not impose consumer product tariffs

## • China Agrees to buy \$200B US Exports

- Loosening foreign ownership
- Modest Intellectual property protection
- End forced technology transfer



## Penalty for non-compliance- snap back of all tariffs



Peterson Institute for International Economics, December 19,2019

### Trade- US/China Phase 1- Détente

### **US-China phase one tracker: China's purchases of US goods**

US exports and China's imports in 2020 of all goods covered by the phase one deal as of July 2020





Peterson Institute for International Economics, August 26,2020

## Dialogue shifts from partnership to de-linking, why?

- Not living up to Phase 1 purchase requirements
- Maintaining Trump tariffs
- Beijing's crackdown on Hong Kong freedoms
- China formally applied for membership in CPTPP (successor to TPP), Sep 2021
- US making gestures to form a new Pacific Rim trade deal w/out China



## r to TPP), Sep 2021 w/out China

# "[The Affordable Care Act has] shrunk to a public entitlement program."

Jonathan Gruber PhD, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Architect of Romneycare and Obamacare The Hill, January 26, 2018



- Tax reform effectively eliminated the ACA individual mandate
- Texas district court held that the basis for Roberts' opinion (based on the mandate being a tax) no longer applies now that the penalty is "gone"
  - Therefore, the entire Affordable Care Act is unconstitutional
    - The mandate cannot be severed from the law
- Supreme Court found there was no standing due to the penalty being \$0
  - Could be challenged on this issue again if penalty is increased from \$0



### **Forcing Events**

- August congressional recess
- FY22 ends & reconciliation window expires on September 30th
- Mid-Term elections- November
- Lame-duck period
- Crowded Senate calendar



### **Procedural Understanding**

## Senate filibuster

Bust or not to bust

"If Republicans don't want to make adjustments to a tax code – which I think is weighted and unfair – then I'm willing to go reconciliation," Senator Manchin June 27, 2021

## Reconciliation process



### **Electoral Count Act Reform**

### Became law in 1887

## **Reform attempts to:**

- Clarify the vice president's role in counting the Electoral College votes as strictly ministerial
- Mandate a state's electoral votes must match their popular vote
- Provides a governor can only submit one set of electors

## • Increase Electoral Vote objection from one Senator and one House member to 1/5 of both chambers SCOTUS case on Independent Legislator Doctrine (ILD)

- Will decide if ILD overrides parts of the ECA
- No higher authority than the state legislature regarding elections
- Governors and courts (state & federal) cannot review or override state legislature regarding elections
- Constitution only stipulates House & Senate members to be elected by the people, not even POTUS



### CHIPS & Science Act

### **\$280B** investment

Support the fabrication of advanced chips in US (\$52B)

25% tax credit for building new manufacturing capabilities

**Prohibits funds from being used for:** 

- Stock buybacks, dividends or capital distributions
- Manufacture advanced chips outside the US

### **Additional:**

- Fund education initiatives to supply a trained workforce, STEM education and R&D (\$102B)
- NASA reauthorization
- 5G rollout
- Supreme Court Justice security

### Adds \$79B to budget deficit over 10 years



### Legislative landscape

- \$1.8T strategy
- Most significant infrastructure/Climate proposal since New Deal
- Two (2) separate legislative efforts
  - Infrastructure Investment & Jobs Act (IIJA), formerly know as BIF- \$550B
  - -Inflation Reduction Act 2022



ABC This Week, interview with Speaker Pelosi, September 26, 2021 7-28-2021 WSJ: What's in the Bipartisan Infrastructure deal, and What Hurdles Lie Ahead

- All agree on the need for an infrastructure investment
  - Current infrastructure grade- C-
  - -What does \$550,000,000,000 over 5 years fund? (\$1T total)
    - \$110B Roads & bridges
    - \$66B Rail (freight and passenger)
    - \$55B Clean water
    - \$42B Airports and ports
    - \$21B Water clean up

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- \$11B Highway and pedestrian safety

\$73B Updating power grid

- \$65B Broadband access
- \$46B Infrastructure resilience
- \$39 Public transit
- \$17B Waterways
- \$7.5B EV charging stations



American Society of Civil Engineers, Infrastructure Report Card 2021, March 2021 US Senate: Bipartisan Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act Summary, July 28, 2021

## All agree on the need for an infrastructure investment

- Current infrastructure grade- C-
- How to pay for it?
  - \$250B Unspent pandemic relief money
  - \$50B Unemployment fraud collection
  - \$50B Medicare Part D rebate

- **\$28B Crypto transaction reporting**
- \$20B Spectrum auctions
- **\$56B Economic growth**
- \$100B Misc. (pension smoothing, selling petroleum reserves, delay mandatory sequester etc.)
- \$256B (\$351B Penn Wharton) short of fully funded...Will it have the votes to pass?
- Above average grade requires \$2T
- -World-Class infrastructure requires more than \$4T

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Penn Wharton Updated Bipartisan Senate Infrastructure deal: Budgetary 7 Economic Effects, Aug 2022 Senate Amendment 2137 to H.R. 3684, the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act, 8-5-2021 American Society of Civil Engineers, Infrastructure Report Card 2021, March 2021 US Senate: Bipartisan Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act Summary, July 28, 2021

## "For months, I've been ringing the alarm bell about inflation."

## "My main thing is inflation, fighting inflation with tax reforms."

Senator Joe Manchin, D-WV February 2022 May 2022



### Inflation Reduction Act

### Minimum 15% book profit tax on corporations exceeding \$1B in profits

- Capital-intensive businesses w/low tax rates & high book profits, minus accelerated depreciation
- Undercuts the value of broadly agreed upon tax breaks (pension, R&D)
- Various methods of calculating book income (more subjective)
- Incents corporations to alter financial documents & risk politicizing FASB rules

### Allow Medicare to negotiate pricing nationally on a small set of drugs

- Capping drug cost increases at CPI-U
- \$2000 out-of-pocket cap on prescription drugs & \$35 cap on insulin for Medicare beneficiaries

### 1% tax on stock buybacks

2-year extension on limitation of excess business losses

**IRS enforcement- Closing the tax gap** 



Ernst & Young Legislative Update Aug 12, 2022

## Inflation Reduction Act of 2022

### **Climate change mitigation (\$369B)**

- Large investment in renewables
- Lowering carbon emissions by an expected 40% by 2030
- Tax incentives for persons and corporations to invest in renewables and to reduce methane
- Support for fossil fuels, primarily natural gas, and offshore oil & gas development

### **Drought resiliency (\$4B)**

Deficit reduction (\$300B)- US is projected to add \$16T in debt over the decade IRS Funding (\$80B)

Extend ACA Premium subsidies for 3yrs (2025)(\$64B)



d to reduce methane velopment

## Expiration of the TCJA (Tax Cuts and Jobs Act) YE2025

- Marginal rates return to prior levels (39.6%)
- Increased standard deduction expires
- Estate tax exemption reverts to \$6M (inflation adjusted)
- AMT returns
- 199A 20% deduction expires
- Pease limits will reduce deductible expenses at certain income tax thresholds
- Uncapped SALT deduction reinstated
- Corporate rates do NOT expire (Reconciliation 15% minimum tax)
- TCJA did not change capital gains rate (20%)

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### Tax reality

### Individual Income Tax Rates

	Tax Rate	Single	M
	10%	\$0 - \$10,725*	\$0
	10%	No Change	No
	12%	\$10,726 - \$41,775	\$20
	15%	No Change	No
	22%	\$41,776 - \$89,075	\$83
	25%	\$41,776 - \$101,175**	\$83
<	24%	\$89,076 - \$170,050	\$17
$\Box$	28%	\$101,176 - \$211,050	\$16
	32%	\$170,051 - \$215,950	\$34
$\leq$	33%	\$211,051 - \$458,850	\$25
	35%	\$215,951 - \$539,900	\$43
	35%	\$458,851 - \$460,750	\$45
	37%	Over \$539,900	Ov
	39.6%	Over \$460,750	Ov

\*Indexed for inflation

\*\*Estimated, indexed for inflation



farried, Filing Jointly

0 - \$20,275

lo Change

20,276 - \$83,550

lo Change

83,551 - \$178,150

83,551 - \$168,625

178,151 - \$340,100

168,626 - \$256,950

340,101 - \$431,900

256,951 - \$458,850

431,901 - \$647,850

458,851 - \$518,350

)ver \$647,850

ver \$518,350
### Tax reality

Joint Income	Gross tax-current brackets before deductions & credits	Gross tax-post TCJA expiration before deductions & credits
\$200,000	\$35,679	\$41,572
\$400,000	\$88,468	\$104,724
\$600,000	\$157,501	\$177,303
\$1,000,000	\$304,553	\$335,704



#### Percentage increase

### 16%

18%

12%

### 10%

### Bracket Creep

#### Percentage of GDP



CBO-The 2022 Long-Term Budget Outlook (July 2022)

## **Expiration of the TCJA at the end of 2025, Prognosis**

- If GOP wins control in 2024
  - Likely will try to extend TCJA for and additional 8 years
- If Dems win control in 2024
  - Selective in what provisions they let expire and extend
- If split control post 2024
  - Some elements of both, likely depending on Dem changes made in 2022



### Labor Participation Rate



CBO-The Budget and Economic Outlook, April 7, 2021

### Spending

#### Percent



CBO-The 2022 Long-Term Budget Outlook (July 2022)

### Spending

## \*Based on \$3.7T of relief





#### **Major Health Care** Programs Net Interest

#### Social Security Discretionary Spending

#### Other Mandatory Spending

2046 2051

CBO-The 2021 Long-Term Budget Outlook (March 2021)

### Spending

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Percentage of Gross Domestic Product



CBO-The 2022 Long-Term Budget Outlook (July 2022)

#### US Debt vs. GDP

Federal Debt Held by the Public



CBO: The 2022 Long-Term Budget Outlook, July 2022

#### Revenues

Percentage of Gross Domestic Product



#### **Revenue Sources**

Percentage of Gross Domestic Product



### Federal Budget

Percentage of Gross Domestic Product



### US Debt vs. GDP

#### Percentage of Gross Domestic Product





CBO: Federal Debt Under Alternative Paths for Interest Rates, March 10, 2022

MMT proposes that a country with its own currency, such as the U.S., doesn't have to worry about accumulating too much debt because it can always print more money to pay interest.

- Will absolutely, positively work
- Eventually, with a return to equities, oversupply of treasuries and the governments need to refinance debt, interest rates will be forced higher. Perhaps, un-affordably high
- Relative measure to other OECD countries
  - Post pandemic Post supply chain disruptions  ${\bullet}$

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Post Ukraine

### US vs. Other

#### Gross government debt as a share of GDP

125%





IMF, January 2022

### Taxes 101- Individual

## **Highest Marginal Tax Rates**



Tax Policy Center, Highest Marginal Income Tax Brackets, Feb. 4, 2020

#### Taxes 101- Individual

## **Average Effective Tax Rates**



Piketty, Saez, Zucman, "Distributional National Accounts: Methods and Estimates for the United States (2017)

### Strategies for investors to consider

- Consider incorporating tax managed solutions (Asset Location)
  - Annuities for locking in gains and tax timing
  - Life Insurance for possible tax-free income, hedging tax liability, GST funding, LTC
  - Active asset management (tax efficient, tax managed, lot management)
- Calculate the efficacy of ROTH conversions
  - Implement before increase in rates; use back-door
  - ROTH allows for a 10-year deferral before payout, post inheritance
- Maximize the 24% tax bracket through 2025
- Defer capital losses to higher tax years

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### Strategies for investors to consider...continued

- Gift, gift, gift to avoid lower estate tax exemption
- Reevaluate trust structures
  - Tax thresholds could be much lower
- Charitable giving strategies in high tax years
  - Donation bundling
  - Donor Advised funds
  - Donate appreciated property
  - Under proposed regs, consider a CRT as beneficiary of an IRA to extend deferral
- Utilize Qualified Charitable Deduction (QCD)

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# •SECURE Act 2.0

Political/Legislative Landscape

# 2022 Mid-Term election snapshot





2022 Mid-Term Election

# Governors-36 of 50 **Senate-35 of 100** House of Representatives- 435 of 435



**Democrat Perspective** 

# "Democrats have some good candidates, in bad places, in a bad year."

# "Republicans have some bad candidates, in good places, in a good year."

Democratic Political Strategist June 29, 2022



### 2022 Mid-Term Election

## **Headwinds**

- **Referendum on the Biden Administration** 
  - Independent voter's low approval rating
  - **Democrat voter enthusiasm gap** 
    - Not sure how big of a role January 6<sup>th</sup> should play in 2022
    - While sympathetic to Ukraine, it's diverting POTUS's attention
    - Frustration regarding unfulfilled promises of democrat control
    - Cynicism about politics
    - Crime
    - Inflation

Wild cards: Abortion and Trump 2024 announcement THE WASHINGTON UPDATE

#### Inflation

#### Percent





### 2022 Mid-Term Election

## **Democrat Headwinds**

Approval ratings for all voters, after one year in office 50% 48% 80% 60% 58%

















### 42%







#### 2022 Mid-Term Election-Governors

### Closely watching

- AZ- open; Katy Hobs (D) vs. Kari Lake (GOP)
- Florida- Ron DeSantis (GOP) incumbent vs. (likely) Charlie Crist (D)
- Georgia- Brian Kemp (GOP) incumbent vs. Stacey Abrams (D)
- Michigan- Gretchen Whitmer (D) incumbent vs. Tudor Dixon (GOP)
- Pennsylvania open- Shapiro (D) vs. Mastriano (GOP)

### Other races to watch

• KS, NV, WI- all with Dem incumbents

# GOP advantage- 17 / Toss-up- 3 / Dem advantage 16 KS, NV, WI



ist (D) ) GOP)

#### 2022 Mid-Term Election- Senate

## Senate 21 GOP (6-open) vs. 14 Democrats (0-open)

- **GOP only needs a NET one pick-up** to control the Senate
- 6 closest states in the 2020 election have a competitive Senate election
- **Democrat opportunities** 
  - WI- Johnson facing progressive Dem candidate in Barnes
  - UT- Lee vs. Evan McMullin running as an independent w/ Democrat's endorsement
  - NC, MO & PA (Dr. Oz-GOP vs. John Fetterman-Dem) GOP retirements •
- **GOP** opportunities

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- AZ-Kelly & GA-Warnock special election winners
- NV-Cortez Masto- Hispanic voters & hospitality workers facing GOP Adam Laxalt
- CO- Bennet facing moderate GOP candidate in O'Dea •
- **Others:** FL-Rubio(GOP), NH-Hassan(D), OH-retirement

## Too close to call, but watch GA, NV & PA



#### 2022 Mid-Term Election- House

- GOP only needs 5 seats to claim the majority
- Reapportionment
- Redistricting
  - Gerrymandering- cracking and packing
  - 2022- GOP 187 vs. Dems 75 (2011- GOP 219 vs. Dems 44)
  - Looks like a wash to slight GOP advantage
  - 45% decline in competitive seats vs. 2011
- **History-** Mid-terms since WWII, president's party has lost on average 26 seats
- 31 Democrats, compared to 18 Republicans, have chosen to retire...so far
- GOP will take over the House- wave election less likely, and waning

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- The big questions in 2022 are:
- Can Trump backed or progressive candidates win in November and, in places that surprise us?
- Election of ideology at the candidate vs. candidate level
- What does that tell us about 2024?



Piketty, Saez, Zucman, "Distributional National Accounts: Methods and Estimates for the United States (2017)



# "For every complex problem, there is a solution that is clear, simple, and Wrong."

H.L. Menken, **American Journalist** 





The Atlantic, July 4, 2022, opinion by Mitt Romney, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 2022

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